1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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kallu. There is, further, a platform, made of bricks and mud, called mandhe kallu, whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village. Strangers, who are not Badagas, are called Holeya. The Rev. G. Richter gives* Badaga Holeya as a division of the lowly Holeyas, who came to Coorg from the Mysore country. In front of the houses, the operations of drying and threshing grain are carried out. The cattle are kept in stone kraals, or covered sheds close to the habitations, and the litter is kept till it is knee or waist deep, and then carried away as manure for the Badaga's land, or planters' estates.

"Nobody," it has been said,† "can beat the Badaga at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be a Chinese gardener. To-day we see a portion of the hill side covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it, in a few weeks, to neat order. The unwieldy boulders, having been rolled aside, serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out cattle, etc. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface. The Badagas are the most progressive of all the hill tribes, and always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society."

Writing in 1832, Harkness states‡ that "on leaving his house in the morning the Burgher pays his adoration

* Manual of Coorg. † Pioneer, 4th October 1907.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills.

578 Among the Badagas, Konga is used as a term of abuse. Those who made mistakes in matching Holmgren's wools, with which I tested them, were always called Konga by the onlookers.

576 (560) When two Badagas meet each other, the elder touches the head of the younger with his right hand. This form of salutation is known as giving the head. A person of the Badaga section gives the head, as it is called, to an Udaiyar, in token of the superiority of the latter. When people belong to the same sept, they say "Ba, anna, appa, thamma, amma, akka" (come, father, brother, (612) mother, sister, etc.). But, if they are of different septs, they will say "Ba, māma, māmi, bava" (come, uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, etc.). "Whenever," Dr. Rivers • 609 writes,* "a Toda meets a Badaga monegar (headman), or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says 'Madtin pudia.' (Madtin, you have come). The Badaga replies 'Buthuk! buthuk!' (blessing, blessing), and rests his hand on the top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders, if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas, except 648 the Toreyas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid

(113)

* The Todas, 1906,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 villages, however, the Kurumba watchman has these duties.[19] It is recorded that in the nineteenth century they were also 'weaving a kind of sackcloth',[20] but today neither they nor anyone else can recall this activity.

(622) (623) Alone of all phratries the Toreas are under a slight disadvantage in the Badaga judicial system. In villages where other Badagas also live they may find that, while being permitted to bring cases to the village or commune council and to sit through its deliberations, they must not take part in the discussion that leads (622) up to the headman's decision. A Torea village headman who is excluded from a meeting of the commune council may not complain about such demeaning treatment in the way that any (619) other headman in the commune undoubtedly would. The depressed status of Toreas is symbolized by the fact that during the great memorial ceremonies for a deceased generation *(Manemale)* the Toreas have a separate, smaller catafalque beside the main one.

615 628 Many of the twenty-six Torea villages are adjuncts to Gauda villages, set off from them by a mere stone's throw; but a group of nine Torea villages on the eastern edge of the plateau are so isolated that their only close contact is with the Wodeas of De:na:du.

615 614 621 Toreas have two clans, and in many villages both are represented. Despite the well-known precedents in other phratries, they have not begun to marry non-Toreas.

615 264 The Toreas can be offered vegetarian food in the houses of all higher phratries and meat in those which habitually eat it themselves. Recently some Gaudas have interdined with Toreas on an equal footing, in their inner rooms, although traditionally none of the other groups would allow Toreas into the inner, more sacred room; they were expected to eat in the outer one. 'If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreyas must clear away all remnants of the feast—nobody else will help' (Benbow, 1930, 11). No other phratry, not even the Christians, will accept food in the house of a Torea (Tignous, 1911, 117). In terms of the commensality rules pertaining elsewhere in India the Toreas may therefore have the appearance of a low or untouchable caste; and it is true that, Christians apart, they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. ● 609 There is nevertheless a Badaga rule that 'foreigners' and plainsmen may not enter the inner room of any Badaga house: they may be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. Badaga

2: Hockings . E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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609 commensal rules, valid as much among Toreas as among higher phratries, have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from the more sacred room or from receiving food there. Badagas, even Toreas, do not recognize high ritual status when found outside the Nilgiri system. The plains Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by considering the Badagas as Śudras, through whom no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting their often non-vegetarian food.[21]

HA:SANU:RU BADAGAS

361 The eight villages of this community, lying in the low Biligiri
621 Rangan Hills some forty kilometers northeast of the Nilgiris,
belong to eleven clans which are distinct from those of the plateau.
614 These clans form three phratries—Wodea, Gauda and Torea. A
615 clan of Ha:ruvas is within the Gauda phratry.

The two Wodea clans rank highest; they intermarry with each
614 other, with Wodeas of the Nilgiris, and recently with the Wodea caste inhabiting villages near Sa:mara:jnagar (southern Mysore). Like other Wodeas those of Ha:sanu:ru are vegetarian and Lingayat. They allow the Ha:ruva clan to eat in the inner room of their houses, but for the past century since they began intermarriage with Mysore villages these Wodeas have stopped allowing other Badagas (who are non-vegetarian) to eat in their houses.

At the other end of the social hierarchy are two clans of Toreas, who intermarry chiefly with the two clans of Nilgiri Toreas, but also with neighbours of the opposite clan in Kottadai, their village near Ha:sanu:ru, and in some cases these Toreas have intermarried with the Torea caste found near Sa:mara:jnagar.

Between these two poles are four Ha:ruva families and about one hundred and fifteen Gauda families; (the Wodeas number about twenty five families, and Toreas twenty). The Ha:ruvas and Gaudas are divided into seven clans (see Diagram 7), generally identified by their place of origin in the Nilgiris. Members of each clan may intermarry with any of the other six clans, and also with Gaudas of the Nilgiris. However, because of their common origin, the Gaudas of Ku:kalu clan, for example, may not marry Gaudas from Ku:kalu village in the Nilgiris.

(615) There is a sort of hierarchy within this phratry, Ku:kalu clan and the Ha:ruvas ranking higher than the others. Ku:kalu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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614 11. Ward, 1821, lxxi, Hough, 1829, 88; Metz, 1864, 54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Francis, 1908, 131. The claim was based on their membership in the Brahma sept.

000 12. Kittel, 1894, 1650, gives the Kannada *Hāruva* as meaning 'Brahmin'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 273, n. 3366, translate it as 'Brahmin' or 'seer'.

262 562 783 13. Benbow, 1930, 9. This claim is dubious, since the pollution of meat normally cannot be removed from a woman, only from a man.

14. Metz, 1864, 50–51, 63–64; see above, 21, 41. *Adikari*, meaning 'powerful man', was once used as the title of a village headman or magistrate appointed by the local chieftain, acting for the ruling power in Mysore.

614 15. Since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the *linga* again.

16. Most Badagas now consider these Adikiris as Gauda, as they do Be:das and Kumba:ras.

000 17. An art they are said to have taught the Kotas.

18. Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 176; see above, 32–33. The Toreas of Ha:sana:ru now intermarry with those of Mysore.

615 19. See below, 123. Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 11, gives his gratuity at a funeral as "a sum of Re. 1.25 along with ten measures of rice".

20. Harkness, 1832, 109; Breeks, 1873, 14. It may be that these writers confused the Toreas with Kaikolans, however: twelve male and nine female Kaikolans were enumerated in Todana:du early in 1821; Grigg, 1880, 26. They were a low-status caste of weavers and musicians from Coimbatore, some of whose women were dedicated in a temple to the art of prostitution; Thurston, 1907, 29–30; 'Miles', 1951, 200–202.

• 609 21. Here a note about commensality with other non-Badagas. Wodeas and other Lingayats never allow a Nilgiri tribesman to enter beyond the veranda; neither may any non-Lingayat visitor from the plains enter. Ha:ruvas and all lower phratries permit Todas and until recently Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room. Kotas and any lowlander thought to be a Hindu untouchable are too polluting to be allowed past the veranda.

[p. 98 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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[Badaga] has no inclination to dispute; and the former, content with this privilege, willingly yields to the latter the palm of superior civilization and domestic economy; which he would think dearly bought, if at the expense of any portion of his natural liberty, or of his freedom to range, when and where he pleases, over his native mountains.

In 1963 an elderly Toda summarized the present situation: 'The Badagas now consider themselves superior to the Todas as they have risen financially. The Todas do not accept the Badaga superiority. Todas are superior because they do not eat flesh, while Badagas do.' But further questioning revealed that the attitudes recorded by Harkness still pertain.

The nature of the status difference between the two communities is shown more precisely in their customary salutations, still sometimes performed.

> Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, ... the Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says *"Madtin pudia!"* (*"Madtin,* you have come.") The Badaga replies *"Buthuk! buthuk!"* ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community ... The salutation is made to members of all the various castes [phratries] of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful ... The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 630; compare Walker, 1965: 78).

Although Badagas have in the past been strongly motivated to maintain their links with the Todas out of economic considerations, these links are apparently tinged with some distrust. While the Kurumbas are viewed by all neighbouring communities as highly dangerous sorcerers, many Badagas and Kurumbas believe Todas also have some lesser skill in sorcery; and this suspicion

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 [684] formerly a common practice for rich Badagas to hire forty or fifty Todas to go on wife-stealing expeditions, and carry off by force the wives of other Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 75). Today, while the practice of stealing wives may continue, assistance from the Todas is no longer required. A parallel situation in which gangs of Badagas used to help Todas steal wives is also recalled. In either case the assistants each received a few rupees.

[181] [609] Badagas are very fond of betting; and so when they meet informally a Badaga and a Toda sometimes have a bet over the possibility of their performing some athletic feat, such as lifting a boulder (Rivers, 1906, 597–598).

Medicine is another matter that can bring Todas and Badagas together. Although Todas have therapists in their own tribe they occasionally go to Badagas noted for particular kinds of cure (Rivers, 1906, 323, 634–635; for details of Badaga therapy, see Hockings, 1979b). A Badaga partner may help the Toda arrange treatment; but the therapist himself usually expects some fee or present from the patient.

[648] Todas are considered moderately powerful sorcerers, despite their own recent disclaimers. It was for this reason that the parties of Badagas who went to massacre Kurumbas always included one or two Toda associates to deliver 'the first blow'.[12] This practice has not recurred since 1900; nor have Badagas murdered a Toda sorcerer since that time.

A few affluent Todas (affluent because of illicit land rentals)[13] now live in Badaga-style brick houses instead of the customary thatched huts, as the houses are more spacious and comfortable. This habit began some eighty years ago (Rivers, 1906, 29, 634). The Badaga-style houses (distinct from modern government-financed housing) are built in a Toda hamlet by Badagas hired for the purpose but not necessarily by a man's Badaga partner.

Ritual Interaction

177 196 [224] A common setting for interaction between the two communities is ceremonial. On some Badaga festival days the Toda may be required to bring the sticks and make fire by friction or perhaps bring a new milking vessel. For the annual hunting ceremony of Be:da Sa:mi held by both Badagas and Kotas, the Toda used to bring clarified butter to smear on the weapons. Even so, no very

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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among the entire Nilgiri population.

Chetti merchandise consists of cloth, lamp-wicks and various trinkets, which are exchanged for grain or cash when available. Since the early nineteenth century these traders have also made and bartered iron measures of volume, artifacts that had previously been made out of bamboo by the Todas.[22] The Nilgiri system of measures differed significantly from that of southern Mysore, presumably because these Chettis and the officers at Dannaika Ko:ţe imposed the standards of Coimbatore markets on the Badagas.

Each Badaga village has a traditional barter relationship with a particular Chetti man, inherited on either side by a son from his father; and despite the vast economic changes since the inception of this system some centuries ago the relationship continues today, modified only by a very considerable drop in the number of clients and volume of trade. During the ten days of his visit the Chetti works through two or three villages a day, restricting himself to the two dozen or more villages of his recognized territory, and then returns to his home in the plains. After twenty days of work there he returns to the plateau and repeats this circuit. Contiguous territories are covered by different Chettis often from the same village, so that one can send a message to his own Regional Chetti by contacting another one on tour in the hills. Although a Chetti may sometimes bring his wife with him all dealings occur between him and the Badaga men. If the Chetti's wife accompanies him it is only to strengthen the bonds of friendship with his Badaga trade associates, by making conversation with the Badaga womenfolk. During nights on the plateau the Chetti sleeps in the outer room of a Badaga friend. He is allowed to eat in that room as well but is expected to wash his own plate, an act indicative of his lower status.

The relationship between Badagas and Chettis is very different in character from that linking Badagas with Todas or Kotas. Until well into the twentieth century the latter linkages were crucial for the flow of necessary goods to members of the three communities; whereas trade with Chettis was never anything more than a convenience which in earlier times saved Badagas from extra journeys to the plains and more recently to the nearest bazaar. The Chetti is considered a foreigner as he is from the plains. Normally his Badaga friends need not visit his village: there is no ceremonial gift-exchange between the two and little participation in each

574 615 and meat in those which habitually eat meat themselves. However, none of the other groups allows them into the inner, more sacred room; they are expected to eat in the outer one. "If they should eat food with other Badagas, the Toreas must clear away all remnants of the feast--nobody else will help" (Bembow 1928: 11). No other phratry will accept food in the house of a Toreya (Tignous 1911: 117).

In terms of the commensality rules which pertain in other parts of India, the Toreyas may therefore have the appearance of an untouchable group; and it is certainly true that they are the lowest of the Badaga phratries. There is a Badaga 574 609 rule, nevertheless, that all "foreigners" and plainsmen are not to enter the inner room of any Badaga's house. They can be offered food only on the veranda or in the outer room. The Badaga commensal rules -- which hold true among the Toreyas as much as among the higher phratries -- have often come as a surprise to visiting Brahmins, who find themselves excluded from entering the more sacred room of a Badaga house or from being offered food there. Badagas do not recognize high ritual status when it is found among people outside the Nilgiri system. The Brahmins of course rationalize the rebuff by saying that the Badagas are really Sudras, and therefore no Brahmin would pollute himself by accepting food from them.

Here a word about commensality with other non-Badagas might be in order. Wodeyas and Lingayats never allow any Nilgiri tribesman to enter their houses beyond the veranda; indeed, they will not permit any non-Lingayat visitor from the (615) plains to enter. Haruvas and all lower phratries, on the other hand, permit Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer room. Kotas, and nowadays any lowlander thought to be an untouchable, are too polluting to allow past the veranda entrance, however.

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(558) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do *so* might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(558) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
594 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (*e.g.* divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it
593 regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed --- unless he is disputing with his
(425) own brother --- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if
613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
578 stake; few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of